

Message Text

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SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT WILLIAM GREIDER OP-ED COLUMN THE
WASHINGTON POST SUNDAY DECEMBER 26 HEADED "CARTER CHOOSES
THE PAINFUL PAST."

2. AROUND TOWN, PEOPLE ARE MAKING BAD JOKES ABOUT JIMMY
CARTER'S NEW CABINET, FOR HIS SELECTIONS HAVE A GROTESQUE
SYMMETRY WITH THE PAST--THAT PATCH OF BLOODY HISTORY
CALLED VIETNAM, THE NIGHTMARE EVERYONE WANTED TO FORGET.

3. CARTER, SAID ONE WIT, HAS CHOSEN THE "JUNIOR VARSITY"
FROM THE NEW FRONTIER, ONLY NOW THEY GET STARTING POSI-
TIONS.

4. HIS CAMPAIGN SLOGAN ASKED: "WHY NOT THE BEST?" BUT
HIS CABINET SELECTIONS REPLY: "WHY NOT THE BEST AND THE
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BRIGHTEST?"

5. CARTER HAS BROUGHT BACK THE "WHIZ KIDS" FROM MCNAMARA'S
PENTAGON TO RUN THE GOVERNMENT. WHAT SHALL WE CALL THEM?
THE "WHIZ MEN?"

6. THE LAST LAUGH, OF COURSE, IS ON THOSE WHO THOUGHT
CARTER MIGHT HAVE THE NERVE OR THE POLITICAL VISION TO
BREAK CLEANLY FROM THE PAST. INSTEAD, HE HAS REVIVED IT.

7. IN SOME CIRCLES, DREDGING UP THESE UGLY MEMORIE ON THE THRESHOLD OF A NEW ADMINISTRATION MAY BE REGARDED AS BAD TASTE, LIKE THE DRUNKEN WEDDING GUEST WHO TELLS DIRTY STORIES AT THE REHEARSAL DINNER. WHAT'S PAST IS PAST. DO NOT DISTURB THE DEAD.

8. THE RELEVANCE IS THIS: AT LEAST SIX OF CARTER'S TOP APPOINTMENTS WERE THERE WHEN THE BIG LIES WERE TOLD IN THE SIXTIES. NONE OF THEM SPOKE UP, AT LEAST NOT SO THEY COULD BE HEARD BY THE PUBLIC. WILL ANYONE BELIEVE THEM NOW THAT THEY ARE BACK IN GOVERNMENT, RUNNING CARTER'S FOREIGN POLICY AND DEFENSE STRATEGY? IT IS A DANGEROUS LEGACY THIS NEW PRESIDENT HAS EMBRACED.

9. MOREOVER, CARTER HAS CHOSEN HIS TEAM, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, FROM A VERY SMALL UNIVERSE OF AMERICANS. MOST OF THEM KNOW EACH OTHER WELL, BECAUSE THEY HAVE OFTEN MET IN CORPORATE BOARDROOMS, DOING BUSINESS, SERVING GOVERNMENT. THE PUBLIC SQUABBLING OVER ADEQUATE REPRESENTATION FOR WOMEN AND BLACKS HAS OBSCURED THIS REALITY--CORPORATE AMERICA IS THE BEST REPRESENTED OF ALL. IF THIS IS CARTER'S IDEA OF POPULISM, WHAT ON EARTH WOULD ELITISM BE LIKE?

10. LET'S STIPULATE THAT THESE ARE ALL GOOD PEOPLE. CAPABLE, EXPERIENCED, ENERGETIC, PRAGMATIC, ALSO DEEPLY UNCLASSIFIED

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MORAL; ALL THE ADJECTIVES WHICH ARE ATTACHED TO THESE NAMES WHEN THEY ARE PROFILED IN NEWSPAPERS, ALL ACCURATE, NO DOUBT. IT IS ALSO IMPORTANT TO NOTE THAT ALL OF THESE PEOPLE CHANGED THEIR MINDS ABOUT VIETNAM, SOONER OR LATER, ACKNOWLEDGED MISTAKES, SOUGHT TO LEARN THE LESSONS.

11. IT WOULD BE EXTRAORDINARY IF THEY HAD NOT. MOST EVERYONE IN AMERICA HAS CHANGED HIS OR HER THINKING ABOUT THAT TRAGIC CHAPTER--A PRINCIPAL SOURCE OF THE PUBLIC DISTRUST WHICH NOW OVERLAYS POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT.

12. THESE MEN WHOM CARTER IS RETURNING TO GOVERNMENT WERE NOT TRULY ARCHITECTS OF THE KENNEDY-JOHNSON VIETNAM POLICY, MORE LIKE SENIOR DRAFTSMEN AND CHEERLEADERS, BUT NEITHER DID THEY PROTEST UNTIL IT WAS TOO LATE.

13. IN THE SPRING OF 1965, WITH 40,000 TROOPS IN VIETNAM AND THE BOMBING CALLED "ROLLING THUNDER" ALREADY UNDER WAY, THE NATION'S CAMPUSES BEGAN TO STIR IN PROTEST. LIKE MANY OTHER ACADEMICS, ZBIGNIEW BRZEZINSKI OF COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY BEGAN APPEARING AT THE FIRST "TEACH-INS" SPONSORED BY WAR CRITICS. BUT BRZEZINSKI WENT TO DEFEND

THE WAR AND ITS PURPOSES.

14. BRZEZINSKI, LIKE SO MANY PROPONENTS OF THE WAR, WAS CAUTIOUS AND DISCREET IN DISCUSSING THE APPROPRIATE STRATEGIES AND PROMISES OF SUCCESS. BUT HE LEFT NO DOUBT ABOUT WHY U.S. INVOLVEMENT WAS NECESSARY. HIS THOUGHTS WERE RECORDED DURING A TV APPEARANCE IN MAY, 1965, OPPOSITE PROF. HANS MORGENTHAU, ONE OF THE EARLY CRITICS.

15. "WE LIVE IN A WORLD," BRZEZINSKI EXPLAINED, "IN WHICH THERE WILL BE MANY LOCAL CONFLICTS, IN WHICH ALL THE MAJOR POWERS WILL EXERCISE SELF-RESTRAINT, BECAUSE THEY HAVE TO UNCLASSIFIED

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EXERCISE SELF-RESTRAINT IN THE NUCLEAR AGE...IT WILL BE A SIGN OF THE MATURITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AND OF THE GROWING WISDOM OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IF WE ADJUST OURSELVES TO THE NOTION THAT IN OUR AGE THERE IS A TWILIGHT ZONE BETWEEN WAR AND PEACE AND THIS TWILIGHT ZONE OF LIMITED WARS IS GOING TO BE VERY MUCH A FEATURE OF OUR LIFETIME."

16. THE "TWILIGHT ZONE OF LIMITED WARS" WAS A FAVORITE THEME OF STRATEGIC THINKERS IN THE SIXTIES, COLD WAR BRAVADO WHICH BRZEZINSKI DISPARAGES IN HIS CURRENT WRITINGS. HE SERVED IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT UNDER PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND WAS KNOWN AS A "HAWK," THOUGH HIS SPECIALTY WAS EASTERN EUROPE AND THE SOVIET UNION. LATER, HE BECAME KNOWN AS AN ADVOCATE OF NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND A MILD CRITIC OF NIXON'S WAR POLICY. BUT HIS DEEPEST SCORN WAS RESERVED FOR THE "SELF-FLAGELLATING INTELLECTUALS" WHO WERE SO NOISILY AGAINST THE WAR. NOW BRZEZINSKI IS SCHEDULED TO BE THE NEXT PRESIDENT'S NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISER IN THE WHITE HOUSE, HENRY KISSINGER'S OLD JOB.

17. CYRUS R. VANCE, CARTER'S CHOICE FOR SECRETARY OF STATE, SHARED THAT COLD WAR MINDSET WHEN HE WAS DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE IN THE MIDDLE SIXTIES UNDER ROBERT MCNAMARA. VANCE WAS ONE OF THOSE ADMINISTRATION SPOKESMEN WHO CAME FORWARD IN AUGUST, 1964, TO CLAIM THAT THE GULF OF TONKIN INCIDENT WAS AN UNPROVOKED ATTACK BY THE ENEMY, REQUIRING RETALIATORY BOMBING RAIDS.

18. "THE UNITED STATES IS PREPARED TO TAKE ANY ACTION WHICH WILL BE REQUIRED BY THE CIRCUMSTANCES," VANCE DECLARED, "BUT WE HOPE THAT THE FIRMNESS OF THE ACTION WHICH WE HAVE TAKEN WILL INDICATE TO THE COMMUNISTS THAT IT WOULD BE UNWISE FOR THEM TO TAKE ANY FURTHER AGGRESSION UNCLASSIFIED

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SIVE ACTS."

19. THE OFFICIAL VERSION OF TONKIN WAS LATER DISCREDITED, OF COURSE, BUT THE TONKIN RESOLUTION RUSHED THROUGH CONGRESS BECAME THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION'S LEGAL PROP FOR ESCALATING THE WAR. VANCE'S WORDS IN 1964 REFLECT WHAT BECAME THE BASIC U.S. STRATEGY--HIT THE ENEMY A SHARP LICK AND SEE WHETHER HE IS READY TO TALK PEACE. HANOI AND THE VIETCONG DID NOT COOPERATE WITH THIS APPROACH, SO THE BLOWS GOT HEAVIER AND HEAVIER UNTIL THERE WERE 500,000 AMERICAN TROOPS IN THE FIGHT AND MASSIVE BOMBING OF LAOS AND VIETNAM.

20. TO WHAT END? CYRUS VANCE, LIKE SO MANY OTHER LOYAL SPOKESMEN IN THAT ERA, ANSWERED THIS QUESTION IN THE STARKEST TERMS--THE VERY SURVIVAL OF THE UNITED STATES DEPENDED UPON PREVAILING IN INDOCHINA. IN A SPEECH TO DEFENSE CONTRACTORS IN OCTOBER, 1965, VANCE SAID THAT VIETNAM WAS A TEST CASE FOR AMERICAN RESOLUTION AND HE CITED A RECENT SPEECH BY LIN PIAO, COMMUNIST CHINA'S MINISTER OF DEFENSE, AS EVIDENCE:

21. "JUST AS COMMUNISM IN CHINA, SAYS LIN PIAO, SUCCEEDED BY CAPTURING AND THEN ENCIRCLING AND DEFEATING THE CITIES, SO THE GLOBAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT WILL ULTIMATELY SUCCEED FIRST BY CAPTURING ASIA, AFRICA AND LATIN AMERICA AND WESTERN EUROPE AND THEN DECISIVELY DEFEATING THE UNITED STATES AND ITS WESTERN ALLIES...

22. "AND WHERE IS ALL THIS TO BEGIN, HE ASKS. IT HAS ALREADY BEGUN, HE REPLIES. AND THE PLACE IN WHICH IT HAS BEGUN IS VIETNAM. VIETNAM, SAYS LIN PIAO, IS NOW THE FOCUS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT AGAINST THE UNITED STATES."

23. IN TIME, THAT LOG-RANGE THREAT CAME TO SEEM LESS UNCLASSIFIED

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COMPELLING THAN THE IMMEDIATE DAMAGE WHICH THE WAR WAS DOING, AT HOME AND ABROAD. VANCE WAS ONE OF THE DESIGNATED "WISE MEN" WHO PRIVATELY ADVISED PRESIDENT JOHNSON AFTER THE TET OFFENSIVE OF 1968 THAT FURTHER ESCALATION WOULD NOT WORK.

24. HAROLD BROWN, THE NEXT SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, WAS IN CHARGE OF THE BOMBING. AS SECRETARY OF THE AIR FORCE,

ANOTHER "WHIZ KID" FROM THE MCNAMARA STABLE, BROWN WAS ONE OF THOSE TECHNOCRATS WHO REDUCED THE WAR TO BLOODLESS STATISTICS AND PROGRESS CHARTS WHICH SHOWED THAT THINGS WERE GOING BETTER AND BETTER.

25. "AIR POWER," HE DECLARED IN MAY OF 1966, "HAS ENABLED US TO CONSISTENTLY DEFEAT ENEMY UNITS WITH CONSIDERABLY LESS THAN HALF THE MEN REQUIRED BY THE OFTEN-QUOTED 10-TO-1 RATIO THOUGHT NECESSARY BY SOME TO DEAL WITH GUERRILLA FORCES AND RELATIVELY SMALL REGULAR UNITS IN JUNGLE WARFARE."

26. ONE WEEK, SECRETARY BROWN REPORTED THAT 7,000 TRUCKS, 3,000 RAILWAY CARS, 5,000 BRIDGES, 5,000 BARGES AND BOATS HAD BEEN DESTROYED BY BOMBS SO FAR THAT YEAR. IN SEPTEMBER ALONE, ROADS WERE CUT AT 600 POINTS.

27. "THIS," HE SAID, "IS A SERIOUS DEGRADATION OF THE NORTH VIETNAMESE LOGISTICAL NET."

28. IN A WAY, IT IS THE LANGUAGE THESE MEN USED WHICH IS THE MOST CHILLING MEMORY. THEY DID NOT MAKE BLOOD-CURDLING DECLARATIONS AND WAVE THE BLOODY SHIRT. THEY SPOKE IN COLD, COMPLICATED SENTENCES, STUDDED WITH ENCOURAGING STATISTICS. THE WAY IN WHICH THEY TALKED ABOUT THE WAR ALLOWED THEM TO REMAIN A LONG DISTANCE FROM THE ACTUAL UNCLASSIFIED

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SUFFERING.

29. "AS A MATTER OF FACT, I SAW THE FIGURES YESTERDAY," VANCE WAS SAYING IN APRIL, 1966. "IN THE MONTH OF MARCH, THERE WERE 2,336 DEFECTORS, BOTH NORTH VIETNAMESE AND VIETCONG. THIS IS THE HIGHEST MONTH RECORDED SINCE THE RECORDS HAVE BEEN KEPT AND, INDEED, EVEN LAST WEEK THE NUMBER OF DEFECTORS WAS 646, THE SECOND HIGHEST WEEK ON RECORD...ONE OTHER FACTOR WHICH IS INTERESTING, INsofar AS DEFECTIONS ARE CONCERNED, IS THE FACT THAT RECENTLY ABOUT 25 PER CENT OF THE DEFECTORS HAVE BEEN OFFICERS."

30. AND HERE IS VANCE ON TV EXTOLLING THE M-16 RIFLE:

31. "IT FIRES A 22-CALIBER HIGH-VELOCITY BULLET. THE VELOCITY OF THAT BULLET IS ABOUT A THOUSAND FEET PER SECOND MORE THAN THAT (SOVIET-MADE) AK-56 WHICH IS LYING THERE ON THE FLOOR. THEREFORE, THE LETHALITY OF EACH OF THE TWO IS ABOUT THE SAME. THAT WEAPON HAS AN EFFECTIVE RANGE OUT TO ABOUT 400 YARDS. THE M-16 HAS AN EFFECTIVE RANGE OUT TO ABOUT THE SAME RANGE. THE M-16, HOWEVER, IS MUCH MORE ACCURATE FROM 100 YARDS OUT TO ABOUT 400 YARDS THAN IS THAT WEAPON. IN ADDITION, THE M-16 IS A MUCH LIGHTER

WEAPON. THAT WEAPON WEIGHS ABOUT 9 POUNDS. THE M-16 WEIGHS ABOUT 6 POUNDS. AND EVEN MORE IMPORTANT THAN THAT IS THE AMMUNITION. YOU CAN CARRY THREE TIMES THE AMOUNT OF AMMUNITION WITH THE M-16 THAN YOU CAN WITH A WEAPON

LIKE THAT..."

32. THESE PEOPLE WERE VERY GOOD ON DETAILS, THE MECHANICS OF WARFARE. AS PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER SAID, THEY ARE KNOWN AS "GOOD MANAGERS."

33. CARTER WILL HAVE OTHERS IN HIS CABINET WHO SHARED,
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IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, THE EXPERIENCE OF THOSE COLD WAR MISCALCULATIONS.

34. THEODORE C. SORENSEN, JOHN F. KENNEDY'S AIDE, IS CREDITED WITH GHOST-WRITING MUCH OF THE STIRRING RHETORIC WHICH SET THE TONE FOR THE CONFLICTS OF THAT DECADE, THE PUBLIC WARS AND THE SECRET ONES: "...WE SHALL PAY ANY PRICE, BEAR ANY BURDEN, MEET ANY HARDSHIP, SUPPORT ANY FRIEND, OPPOSE ANY FOE TO ASSURE THE SURVIVAL AND THE SUCCESS OF LIBERTY."

35. THOSE WORDS HAVE PECULIAR REVERBERATIONS TODAY, NOW THAT WE KNOW ABOUT THE CIA'S ASSASSINATION PLOTS AND OTHER SECRET ACTIONS TO SUPPORT FRIENDS AND OPPOSE FOES. NOW SORENSEN WILL BECOME DIRECTOR OF THE AGENCY, RESPONSIBLE FOR CONTINUING ITS REFORM.

36. JOSEPH A. CALIFANO, JR., THE NEW SECRETARY OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE, WENT FROM MCNAMARA'S PENTAGON STAFF TO THE WHITE HOUSE AND WAS REGARDED AS A "WHIZ KID" IN BOTH PLACES. HIS PRINCIPAL WORK AS AN LBJ ASSISTANT WAS ORCHESTRATING DOMESTIC PROGRAMS AND LEGISLATION. IF HE HAD ANY MISGIVINGS ABOUT VIETNAM, HE KEPT THEM PRIVATE UNTIL AFTER HE LEFT OFFICE.

37. IN 1965, WHEN PROTESTS WERE HEATING UP ACROSS AMERICA, CALIFANO ACCEPTED FOR THE PRESIDENT AN 8-FOOT PETITION WITH 2,500 SIGNATURES FROM STUDENTS AND FACULTY AT AMERICAN UNIVERSITY. "OF COURSE, WE RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT TO DISSENT," CALIFANO SAID. "THAT'S WHAT OUR BOYS IN VIETNAM ARE FIGHTING FOR. BUT THIS SHOWS THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF AMERICAN COLLEGE STUDENTS AND THE AMERICAN PUBLIC STAND FULLY BEHIND THE PRESIDENT IN HIS POLICY IN VIETNAM."

38. EVEN IN EARLY 1968, CALIFANO WAS STILL INSISTING THAT
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THE BLOATED WAR BUDGET WAS NOT STOPPING THE DOMESTIC PROGRAMS LAUNCHED UNDER THE GREAT SOCIETY. VIETNAM, HE

REPEATED, IS "ONE OF THE GREATEST TESTS OF WILL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAVE EVER FACED."

39. CHARLES SCHULTZE, AN ECONOMIST WHO WILL BE CHAIRMAN OF CARTER'S COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS, WAS LBJ'S BUDGET DIRECTOR WHEN THE VIETNAM WAR COSTS ESCALATED OFF THE CHARTS. FOR MONTHS IN 1966, INFLUENTIAL MEMBERS OF CONGRESS KEPT INSISTING THAT THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION WAS UNDERSTATING THE TRUE COST OF THE U.S. INVOLVEMENT BY \$10 TO \$12 BILLION. THE ADMINISTRATION KEPT DENYING IT.

40. THE CONGRESSIONAL SKEPTICS, IT TURNED OUT, WERE RIGHT. THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION HAD TO ASK FOR A TAX INCREASE TO PAY FOR THE WAR. SCHULTZE, HOWEVER, MAY HAVE BEEN A VICTIM, NOT A CULPRIT. AS THIS HISTORY HAS BEEN RECONSTRUCTED, IT APPEARS THAT SCHULTZE AND OTHER ECONOMIC ADVISERS WERE MISLED BY THE PENTAGON AND THE WHITE HOUSE, THE SAME WAY CONGRESS AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC WERE MISLED.

41. PEOPLE DO GROW WISER, THEY CHANGE THEIR MINDS ABOUT IMPORTANT QUESTIONS. IF THE SENATE DOES ITS JOB, THESE MEN WILL BE QUESTIONED CLOSELY AT THEIR CONFIRMATION HEARINGS ON HOW THEIR VIEWS HAVE EVOLVED IN THE LAST DECADE.

42. IN THE MEANTIME, WE KNOW THAT NONE OF THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICIANS WHO HAD THE VISION OR THE COURAGE TO SEE THROUGH THE COLD WAR RHETORIC, TO OPPOSE U.S. ENTRY INTO THE CIVIL CONFLICT OF VIETNAM, HAS BEEN CHOSEN BY CARTER FOR TOP PLACES IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION. FORESIGHT IS RARELY HONORED IN POLITICS, ESPECIALLY BY OTHER
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POLITICIANS WHO LACKED IT.

43. THE MEN WHO WILL BE IN CHARGE AGAIN WERE, FOR THE MOST PART, SCHOOLED IN A GENERATION OF LEADERS WHO LOOKED BACKWARD, OBSESSED WITH THE EXPERIENCE OF WORLD WAR II AND COUNTING ON HISTORY TO REPEAT ITSELF. THEY LOOKED AT SAIGON IN 1964 AND THOUGHT IT WAS MUNICH IN 1938. PERHAPS THEIR VISION IS CLEARER NOW. IF IT ISN'T, THIS COUNTRY IS IN DEEP TROUBLE.

44. WHERE DID CARTER FIND THESE PEOPLE? WHAT DO THEY REPRESENT IN AMERICAN SOCIETY? THE GENERAL ANSWER IS THAT, HIS CAMPAIGN RHETORIC NOTWITHSTANDING, CARTER HAS RESTORED ORTHODOX LIBERALISM TO POWER. MORE SPECIFICALLY, HE HAS INSURED THAT THE BUSINESS OF AMERICA REMAINS BUSINESS, ESPECIALLY THE BUSINESS OF MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS. LIBERALS AND CONSERVATIVES HAVE ALWAYS AGREED ON THAT.

45. FROM ALL OF THE TALENTED AND EXPERIENCED PEOPLE IN AMERICA, CARTER HAS CHOSEN THREE DIRECTORS OF IBM (VANCE, BROWN AND PATRICIA HARRIS, THE HUD SECRETARY-DESIGNATE) TO SERVE IN HIS CABINET. HE WOULD HAVE ALSO CHOSEN AN IBM VICE PRESIDENT, BUT SHE DECLINED THE JOB.

46. HIS CABINET INCLUDES A DIRECTOR OF PAN AMERICAN AIRWAYS (VANCE), A DIRECTOR OF THE EQUITABLE LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY (MICHAEL W. BLUMENTHAL, THE TREASURY SECRETARY-DESIGNATE), A DIRECTOR OF WESTERN ELECTRIC AND R. J. REYNOLDS (JUANITA KREPS, THE COMMERCE SECRETARY-DESIGNATE), A DIRECTOR OF CHASE MANHATTAN BANK (HARRIS).

47. HIS CABINET INCLUDES SIX LAWYERS (VANCE, CALIFANO, HARRIS, SORENSEN, BROCK ADAMS, THE TRANSPORTATION SECRETARY-DESIGNATE, AND GIFFIN BELL, ATTORNEY GENERAL-DESIGNATE) WHOSE LAW FIRMS REPRESENT AN IMPRESSIVE ARRAY OF UNCLASSIFIED

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MAJOR ENTERPRISES. TO NAME A FEW: AMERICAN ELECTRIC POWER CO. OCCIDENTAL PETROLEUM. NORTHWESTERN INDUSTRIES. COLONIAL PENN INSURANCE. GULF & WESTERN. WARNER COMMUNICATIONS. REVLON.

48. THIS IS NOT UNIQUE OR EVEN UNUSUAL IN DEMOCRATIC ADMINISTRATIONS. THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY TRADITIONALLY HARRANGUES BIG BUSINESS DURING CAMPAIGNS, BUT THEN TURNS TO WALL STREET AND CORPORATE BOARDROOMS IN SEARCH OF ADMINISTRATIVE TALENT. CARTER MAY HAVE TAKEN THIS PRACTICE A BIT FURTHER THAN HIS PREDECESSORS.

49. TWO OF HIS LAWYERS, FOR INSTANCE, ARE FROM LAW FIRMS WHICH HAVE REPRESENTED GENERAL MOTORS (BELL AND SORENSEN) AND TWO ARE FROM FIRMS WHICH REPRESENT COCA-COLA (BELL AND CALIFANO).

50. THE COCA-COLA CONNECTION DEMONSTRATES WHAT A SMALL WORLD CARTER HAS SELECTED FROM. CARTER'S GOOD FRIEND IN ATLANTA IS J. PAUL AUSTIN, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF COKE. COKE IS REPRESENTED IN ATLANTA BY GRIFFIN BELL'S LAW FIRM. AUSTIN SERVES ON THE BOARD OF CAL TECH. THE PRESIDENT OF CAL TECH IS THE NEW SECRETARY OF DEFENSE. THE NEW DEPUTY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE IS THE FORMER PRESIDENT OF COKE. COKE'S LAWYER IN WASHINGTON IS THE NEW SECRETARY OF HEW.

51. IF THAT LEAVES YOU A BIT DIZZY, DRINK A DR. PEPPER AND CONSIDER THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION'S CONNECTIONS WITH IMPORTANT INSTITUTIONS OF THE NEWS MEDIA. THE SECRETARY OF STATE-DESIGNATE IS A DIRECTOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES. THE SECRETARY OF HEW-DESIGNATE IS LAWYER FOR THE WASHINGTON

POST. THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE-DESIGNATE IS A DIRECTOR OF THE LOS ANGELES TIMES.

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52. THE MOST INTERESTING LINKAGE AMONG THESE PEOPLE IS NEITHER SOFT DRINKS NOR NEWSPAPERS. IT IS ROCKEFELLER PHILANTHROPY. THE CONNECTION IS SO COMPELLING IN THE FOREIGN -POLICY SPHERE THAT A CYNIC MIGHT SUGGEST THAT THIS TRANSITION IS NOT SO MUCH FROM FORD TO CARTER, BUT FROM NELSON TO DAVID.

53. HENRY KISSINGER, THE PRINCIPAL ARCHITECT OF FOREIGN POLICY UNDER EIGHT YEARS OF REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTS, HAD A SPECIAL PATRON IN NELSON ROCKEFELLER. BUT BRZEZINSKI'S IS DAVID ROCKEFELLER, NELSON'S YOUNGER BROTHER, THE BOARD CHAIRMAN OF CHASE MANHATTAN BANK. TOGETHER, BRZEZINSKI AND ROCKEFELLER ORGANIZED AN ORGANIZATION CALLED THE TRILATERAL COMMISSION, INCLUDING PUBLIC OFFICIALS, ACADEMICS AND BUSINESS LEADERS, TO CHART A NEW POST-COLD WAR FOREIGN POLICY.

54. THE PRESIDENT-ELECT IS A MEMBER. SO IS THE VICE PRESIDENT-ELECT. SO ARE FOUR OF CARTER'S TOP APPOINTEES: BRZEZINSKI, VANCE, BROWN AND REP. ANDREW YOUNG, THE UNITED NATIONS AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE. TWO CABINET APPOINTEES ALSO SERVE ON THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION (VANCE AND BLUMENTHAL), NOT TO MENTION DIRECTORS OF THE CHASE MANHATTAN AND IBM, TWO CORPORATIONS WHERE ROCKEFELLER MONEY IS STILL IMPORTANT. THIS IS THE SAME SMALL CIRCLE OF AMERICANS WHICH HAS MADE FOREIGN POLICY FOR THE GOVERNMENT OVER THE LAST GENERATION. THE CARTER APPOINTEES ARE DIRECT DESCENDANTS OF JOHN FOSTER DULLES AND DEAN RUSK, TWO OTHER MODERN SECRETARIES OF STATE WHO CAME FROM THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION. IT IS HARD TO BELIEVE THAT THEY WILL TURN ON THEIR ANCESTORS.

55. ALL OF THE BUSINESS CONNECTIONS WILL BE SEVERED, OF COURSE, WHEN THESE PEOPLE ENTER GOVERNMENT. CITING ALL OF THE CORPORATE RELATIONSHIPS DOES NOT IMPLY THAT ANY UNCLASSIFIED

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OF THESE PEOPLE WILL CONTINUE TO REPRESENT THOSE INSTITUTIONS RATHER THAN THE PUBLIC WHEN THEY ARE IN PUBLIC OFFICE. BUT IT DOES GIVE SOME CLUES AS TO WHERE THEY CAME FROM AND HOW THEY MAY VIEW THE WORLD AND THE NATION, NOT TO MENTION HOW CARTER HIMSELF VIEWS THINGS.

56. THE COUNTRY IS MUCH SMALLER, IT SEEMS, THAN THE

VISION WHICH CARTER SOLD DURING THE CAMPAIGN. PERHAPS
CARTER'S OWN VISION IS SMALLER, TOO. (END TEXT.)
ROBINSON

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